175 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an
G48 entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning
439 the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

175 The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when
177 the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall
565 in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the
641 Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife,
583 friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per-
562 haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the country-side the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong.
479 This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign
499 contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP of P. 31:- Gmalyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends.

Matsuda Village, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii.

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son.

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraawa. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraawa, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[162] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

[578] In the villages studied, according to the residents living there
[573] now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
[592] returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother,
[593] acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

[602] Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

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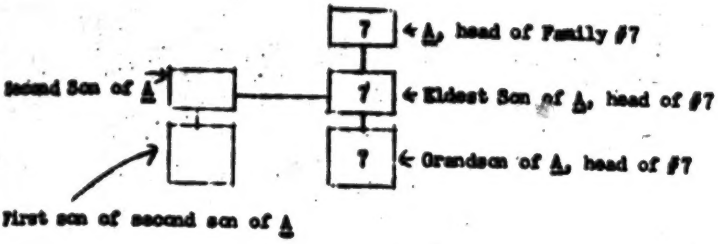

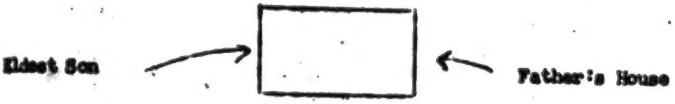

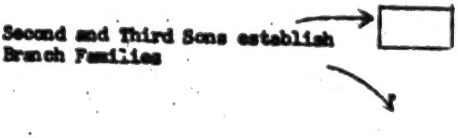

Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.

[591]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as [582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is 591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the 593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life. 591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second, [423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which a [435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be [425] given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

[361] Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no [425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to [426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated 591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agricultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigration to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed attitudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one.

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Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system.

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6

Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (danzetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan.

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The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

428

In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement [242] in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades [651] 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes.

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels [593] are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for [824] thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October [731] 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [432] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues TOP of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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[824]
In Hanashiro, The genya grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

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If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

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Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity.

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom.

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields.

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays.

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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593 The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

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Other Activities Associated with Fishing

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[439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

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825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252]
757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

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Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

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In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritence, and in which the men have a richer social life.

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Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

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9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

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The School Child

The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

13 In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to
A64 the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hazukashii). This public reticence, so old in
178 Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
159 Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.16

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[illegible] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as
834 Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Marriage Customs

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There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage.

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The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side.

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The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Matsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging.

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The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

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302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

● [593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism.

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking.

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation.

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

515 511 051 The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 364 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other.

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune.

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere.

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent.

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

592 [727] Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 554 [562] Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family. Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

Such economic independence gives women a place in the family which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings.

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives.

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans.

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations.

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.*

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women.

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations.

582 than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son ex-
[593] planation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	6
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

584 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained
178 courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal tends to underscore the relatively high status of women vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.

[562]

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands - ANALYST]

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few [843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male [593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
[848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation
[461] reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[522] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of pregnancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves."

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits.

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman.

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains.

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort.

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery.

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." [152] A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 565 462 [178] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. [286] The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

● 593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
522 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
857 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
854 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
854 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school, she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

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Taira

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles.

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby."

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until

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Taira

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility.

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.*

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings.

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
● 593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

* * *

Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings.
[593] They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[155] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy burden from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sibling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 4-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 4-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chopsticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, 'I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," according to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

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Taira

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously.

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child."

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food.

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake.

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger,

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the
861 child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her
593 offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

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In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

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Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

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Taira

as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, therefore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol.

S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant.

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With [865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward members of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this 858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the 866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed 156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

593 602 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 171 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

593 581 [594] The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite different from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its primary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 855 [171] As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not [171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in 593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own status, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

Classification of Kin It has long been recognized that the categories of language are likely to be the categories of thought, and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwan-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwan-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152 593 [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratisation of Okinawan society. [185]

•593 If democratization means the development of political and social equality and
178 of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will undoubted-
179 ly be changes in Okinawan family life. Other factors will also be operating. The acceptance of modern medicine will lessen the importance of offerings to the ancestors and perhaps weaken the feeling that suffering may result from insufficient filial piety.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593* 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178